

# Setting the Stage for the Cold War and Decolonization

*We would consider it our moral duty to lend all support to the ending of colonialism and imperialism so that people everywhere are free to mould their own destiny.*

—Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indian independence movement leader in the 1920s

**Essential Question:** What was the historical context for the Cold War after World War II?

**A**fter the global conflict of World War II, the largely unfulfilled hopes for greater colonial self-government after World War I were revived. Shastri's anti-imperialist sentiments helped explain how global affairs changed after the war ended in 1945. Colonies' desire for independence became intertwined with a global ideological conflict between capitalist countries (led by the United States) and communist countries (led by the Soviet Union).

## Bringing the War to an End

During World War II, the leaders of Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, known as the **Big Three**, held several meetings to plan for the post-war world. Three of these were particularly important.

**The Tehran Conference** During the **Tehran Conference** in Iran in November 1943, the Allies agreed that the Soviet Union would focus on freeing Eastern Europe, while Britain and the United States would concentrate on Western Europe. In addition, Britain and the United States agreed to a Soviet demand to shift some Polish territory to the Soviet Union, which would be offset by Poland gaining territory elsewhere, mostly from Germany.

**The Yalta Conference** By February 1945, the Allies knew that Germany was near defeat, but they disagreed about what should happen after Germany's surrender. At the **Yalta Conference**, at a resort on the Black Sea, the leaders focused on plans for reconstructing Eastern Europe and for defeating Japan.

- Franklin Roosevelt wanted free, democratic elections in Eastern Europe. He also wanted the Soviets to join the war against Japan.

- Stalin demanded influence over Eastern Europe. Fearful that another Napoleon or Hitler would invade Russia from the West, he wanted Eastern Europe as a buffer zone. In return for Soviet help against Japan, he wanted control of islands claimed by Japan, ports ruled by China, and part ownership of a Manchurian railroad.

Roosevelt thought that after years of overseas war, the American public was unlikely to support a war against the Soviets over the fate of democracy in Eastern Europe. The conference ended with a Soviet pledge to fight Japan, but the Soviets offered only vague assurances on free elections in Eastern Europe.

**The Potsdam Conference** The final meeting among leaders of the Big Three, the **Potsdam Conference**, began in July 1945 in Germany. **Harry Truman**, who had become president after Roosevelt died on April 12, represented the United States. Churchill started the conference but lost his position as prime minister in mid-July and was replaced by Clement Atlee.

Truman insisted on free elections in Eastern Europe. However, by then Soviet troops had occupied the region. Stalin refused Truman's demand. With the backing of Soviet power, communists eventually gained control of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania.

By 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union lacked trust in one another and had begun the aggressive rhetoric that would become standard for four decades following World War II. Potsdam and the earlier conferences failed to settle important issues between the world's major powers. As a result, the stage was set for a cold war between countries still devastated by a hot war.

## Shifting Balance of Power

When the war ended in 1945, parts of Europe and Asia had been devastated. The war resulted in 40 million to 60 million deaths. It destroyed factories, roads, bridges, and other structures needed for industrial production. It forced millions of people to move. Many were fleeing communism or searching for safety and opportunity.

**Massive Destruction in Europe** Wartime losses were not evenly distributed throughout Europe. In general, East and Central Europe suffered greater losses than did Western Europe. Worst hit were the Soviet Union, Poland, and Germany. Each lost between 10 and 20 percent of its population.

Countries such as Great Britain and France, despite their losses, maintained strong traditions of democracy and the rule of law. They still had strong educational systems, including outstanding universities. They remained home to large, innovative corporations. These advantages provided the foundation for Western Europe to become a global leader after the war. However, because of the massive physical destruction and population loss in victorious and defeated nations, Europe became less influential and powerful in the rest of the world, while the United States and the Soviet Union became more powerful. (Connect: Write a paragraph comparing the destruction caused by World War I and World War II. See Topic 7.8.)



**The U.S.-Soviet Rivalry** In 1945, then, the United States was poised to become the most powerful country in the world. Of all the major countries involved in the war, the United States suffered the least. Heavy fighting occurred on U.S. soil, in the Philippines, but the U.S. mainland was untouched by attacks. Its industrial base and infrastructure not only remained intact but also grew stronger through government-funded military contracts. Further, the loss of life in the United States was far lower than in Europe. The relative prosperity of the United States allowed it to provide financial aid to European countries after the war. This aid program, called the Marshall Plan, is described in Topic 8.2.

The United States also had developed atomic weapons and used them during the war, making the country even more formidable. The Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb of their own in 1949. By the end of the 1940s, only the Soviet Union could challenge the United States in military might and political influence.

**Advances During the War** Military research at universities and in private companies, often funded by government, resulted in tremendous technological developments during World War II. Among the items that were developed for, improved, or used more widely by the military were air pressure systems for airplane cabins, refrigeration for food, stronger plywood for construction, and a variety of plastics for many uses. One of the most important advances was the spread of the use of penicillin, which saved the lives of thousands of wounded soldiers. Each of these advances would be adapted for civilian use, thereby improving the lives of millions of people.

## The Start of the Cold War

The U.S.-Soviet tensions evident at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam made conflict likely. However, the high costs of the war meant that neither superpower wanted a full-scale war with the other. Rather, they settled into a **cold war**, a conflict does not involve direct military confrontation between two or more rival states. The Cold War between the superpowers played out in propaganda campaigns, secret operations, and an arms race.

The deadliest results of the Cold War occurred outside the lands of the two superpowers. The U.S.-Soviet rivalry led both countries to arm opposing sides in conflicts around the world, thereby transforming small civil wars and regional conflicts into much larger events. This increased the death tolls and level of destruction in these wars.

In the early 1950s, the United States and Soviet Union each developed a **hydrogen bomb** that was much more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan at the end of World War II. The arms race fostered close ties between the military and the industries that developed weapons. Before he left office in 1961, President **Dwight Eisenhower** expressed his concerns about the U.S.-Soviet competition for supremacy in nuclear armaments. He warned against allowing the **military-industrial complex**, the informal alliance between the



government and the large defense contractors, to gain too much power. In later decades, citizens in many countries expressed similar worries. They began to protest the stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

## Breakdown of Empires

After World War II, efforts resumed to undermine colonialism. The start of World War I had marked the high point of colonial empires. The British, the French, and other Europeans had colonized almost all of Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, and they dominated China. Empires based in Austria, Turkey, and Russia were multiethnic states, but each was dominated by one group, leaving others feeling discriminated against. After World War I, the demand for **self-determination**, the idea that each country should choose its own form of government and leaders, was spreading. The Austro-Hungary Empire and the Ottoman Empire crumbled, restructured into multiple new countries. However, in China, India, and throughout Africa, Europeans generally maintained their power, even expanding it over territories that had been part of the Ottoman Empire.

During World War II, the leading colonial powers focused on stopping Hitler. As a result, the anti-colonial movements probably grew stronger, but actual independence made little progress. However, after World War II, the foundation was set for the dismantling of colonial empires:

- In the colonized world, movements for self-determination grew. Often, they included both advocates of greater self-rule and proponents of full independence.
- World War II had so weakened Great Britain, France, and the other colonial powers that they had fewer resources to resist independence.
- The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union gave anti-colonial activists two superpowers to recruit as supporters.

The successful efforts of people to undermine colonial empires are described in Topics 8.5 and 8.6.

KEY TERMS BY THEME		
<b>GOVERNMENT:</b> Europe Big Three Tehran Conference Yalta Conference Potsdam Conference	<b>GOVERNMENT:</b> United States Harry Truman Cold War Dwight Eisenhower  <b>SOCIETY:</b> Anti-Colonial Movements self-determination	<b>TECHNOLOGY:</b> Armaments hydrogen bomb military-industrial complex



# The Cold War

*Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war.*

—Bernard Baruch, banker and presidential advisor, 1947

**Essential Question:** What were the causes and effects of the ideological struggle of the Cold War?

**A**fter World War II, the democratic United States and the authoritarian Soviet Union emerged as the strongest countries in the world. Both countries had expanded their territorial control and influence after the war. After the Potsdam Conference in Germany in 1945, Truman and Stalin soon recognized their rivalry for dominance over Europe and Asia. The ideological conflict noted by Baruch, the power struggle between capitalism (led by the United States) and communism (led by the Soviet Union), was the central global conflict over the next 40 years.

## Cooperation Despite Conflict: The United Nations

Despite ideological differences, the Allies shared a commitment to building a new organization to promote peace and prosperity to replace the League of Nations. The League had failed for two significant reasons:

- It lacked the support of all the world's powerful countries, particularly the United States.
- It lacked a mechanism to act quickly to stop small conflicts from escalating into large ones.

In 1943, leaders of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China discussed the idea of the **United Nations (UN)**. The UN was established in 1945. (Connect: Write a paragraph comparing the United Nations with the League of Nations. See Topics 7.3 and 7.5.)

## Rivalry in Economics and Politics

The existence of the United Nations did not prevent tensions from growing worse between the Soviet Union and the West. Winston Churchill's March 1946 speech symbolized the Cold War. Churchill said that "an iron curtain has descended across the continent" of Europe. The metaphor of the **Iron Curtain** described the split between Eastern and Western Europe.

**Capitalism and Communism** One difference between the United States and the Soviet Union was how they organized their economies.

- In the United States, Western Europe, and other capitalist countries, economic assets, such as farms and factories, were mostly owned privately. Hence, private interests determined economic decisions. People had the freedom to act in their self-interest.
- In the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and other communist countries, economic assets were owned by the government. The system emphasized equality and fairness.

**Democracy and Authoritarianism** A second difference was how the rivals organized their political systems. In the United States, people chose their elected leaders through free elections. Further, they relied on an independent press to provide accurate information about the government and political parties to compete for votes. In the Soviet Union, elections were not significant, the press was operated by the government, and a single party dominated politics.

**Criticisms and Similarities** Each side pointed to what it saw as flaws in the other. In the United States, people attacked the Soviet system for restricting the rights of people to speak and worship freely, to elect their own representatives, and to allow businesses to operate efficiently. Soviets accused the United States of giving poor people the “freedom to starve” and for discriminating against African Americans and other minorities. The Soviet Union also stressed its emphasis on women’s equality as a difference between its system and that of the United States.

Despite the difference in the U.S. and Soviet models, some analysts emphasized their similarities. For example, in both, control of big economic decisions was in the hands of groups, either the government or millions of corporate shareholders. Further, both countries often acted out of fear of the other, which made the military a powerful force in each.

## Conflicts in International Affairs

Each side wanted to expand its system of thought throughout the world. This competition resulted in a long-running battle for influence over the opinions of people and alliance with governments.

**The USSR and Its Satellite Countries** The Soviets were determined to make the governments of Eastern Europe as much like the Soviet government as possible. They therefore directed the countries of Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania to develop five-year economic plans focused on developing industry and collective agriculture at the expense of consumer products. All political parties other than the Communists were outlawed.

These actions allowed the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) to exploit the Eastern European nations to benefit the Soviets rather than



to help those countries grow. The **satellite countries**—small states that are economically or politically dependent on a larger, more powerful state—were forced to import only Soviet goods and to export only to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the governments of these countries were just as dictatorial as the Soviet government. (Connect: Create a graphic comparing Communist and earlier Western imperialism. See Topic 6.2.)

**World Revolution** Beginning with the October Revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union viewed capitalism as a threat to its power. This view was enhanced with the concept of **world revolution**, a belief that organized workers would overthrow capitalism in all countries. The Soviets supported revolutions and uprisings between 1919 and 1923 in Germany, Bavaria, Hungary, northern Italy, and Bulgaria. Soviet interference elevated Western suspicions about Soviet intentions. After World War II, growing revolutionary feelings became a serious threat to Western powers and to governments in Central and Southern Europe.

**Containment** U.S. diplomat George Kennan worked in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow during the 1930s and in 1946. Kennan believed that the Soviet Union would continue to expand its borders and its influence abroad if it could. He advocated a policy of **containment**—not letting communism spread farther. Some politicians criticized Kennan for accepting the status quo. They argued for a more aggressive policy of overthrowing existing regimes in order to “roll back” the spread of communism.

**Truman Doctrine** Kennan’s reports influenced President Harry Truman. A speech in 1947 outlined the **Truman Doctrine**, a strong statement that the United States would do what it had to do to stop the spread of communist influence, specifically in Greece and Turkey. The Soviet Union wanted to put military bases in Turkey so it could control the Dardanelles, the strait between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. In Greece, left-wing groups controlled by Communists were close to gaining control of the government. Truman pledged U.S. economic and military support to help the two countries resist this communist domination.

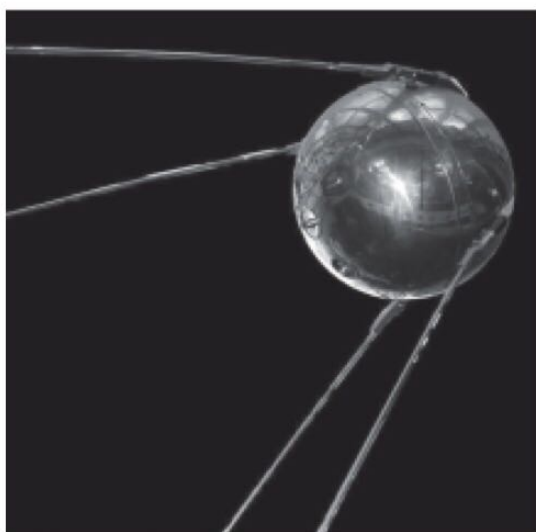
**The Marshall Plan** After World War II, the United States was deeply concerned about rebuilding Europe. The United States provided assistance to those countries soon after the war ended. However, many U.S. leaders thought more was needed to get European allies back on their feet economically. Based on the belief that a communist revolution could happen in economically unstable nations, the new goal was to rebuild Europe into a prosperous and stable region. The **Marshall Plan**, enacted in June 1947, was designed to offer \$12 billion in aid to all nations of Europe, including Germany. This money would be used to modernize industry, reduce trade barriers, and rebuild Europe’s damaged infrastructure. The plan worked. Economic output in the countries aided was 35 percent higher in 1951 than it had been in 1938.

The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites refused to participate in the plan. Instead, in 1949, the Soviets developed their own

plan to help rebuild Eastern Europe—the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)**. The scope of the organization was narrower than that of the Marshall Plan. It was limited primarily to trade and credit agreements among the six members. Its impact was modest compared to the Marshall Plan.

## The Space Race and the Arms Race

**Space Race** In 1957, the Soviet Union launched the first artificial satellite, called *Sputnik*, into orbit around Earth, inaugurating what become known as the *Space Race*. The United States launched its first satellite in January 1958. The two nations competed to become the first with a manned satellite orbiting Earth and, later, the first to land a human on the moon.



Source: Wikimedia Commons

Replica of Sputnik 1 stored in the National Air and Space Museum.



Source: Wikimedia Commons

Launch of first U.S. satellite, Explorer 1, on January 31, 1958.

**Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)** Early in 1959, the Soviets tested the first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of delivering a nuclear warhead into U.S. territory. The United States tested a similar missile later that same year. Both countries realized that they had become so powerful that they had reached a point of *mutual assured destruction*. That is, regardless of who started a war, both would be obliterated by the end of it. Since neither side could win a nuclear war, neither side had an incentive to start one. As long as both sides kept improving their technology, the balance of terror between them would keep the peace—everyone hoped.

## The Non-Aligned Movement

Many new African and Asian countries wanted to stay out of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War. They wanted an alternative framework for international economic, political, and social order—one not dominated by the two superpowers. In



1955, Indonesia hosted a conference, known as the Bandung Conference after the city where it was held, for representatives of these countries. Delegates from China, India, and 27 other countries—representing more than half the world’s population—passed resolutions condemning colonialism. The impulse that prompted the Bandung Conference led countries to formally organize the **Non-Aligned Movement** in 1961. However, non-aligned countries faced challenges:

- Member states tried to combine support for stronger international institutions with efforts to advance their own interests. For example, Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru supported a stronger UN, but he opposed its efforts to intervene in the conflict between India and Pakistan over control of the region of Kashmir.
- Member states often became more closely allied with one superpower or the other. When war broke out between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1977, the Soviet Union supplied aid to Ethiopia, prompting the United States to supply aid to Somalia.

#### Leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement

Name	Country	Role
<b>Jawaharlal Nehru</b>	India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Served as prime minister of India from 1947 to 1964</li> <li>• Viewed as one of the most important leaders at the Bandung Conference</li> </ul>
<b>Kwame Nkrumah</b>	Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Led Ghana to independence from Great Britain in 1957</li> <li>• Advocated unity among Africans across country boundaries through the Organization of African Unity</li> <li>• Became one of the most respected African leaders of the post-war period</li> </ul>
<b>Gamal Abdel Nasser</b>	Egypt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Served three terms as president of Egypt between 1954 and 1970</li> <li>• Helped negotiate compromises among people attending the Bandung Conference</li> <li>• Supported the Pan-Arab movement</li> </ul>
<b>Sukarno</b>	Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Became the first president of Indonesia in 1945</li> <li>• Organized and hosted the Bandung Conference</li> <li>• Criticized both the United States and the USSR but accepted large amounts of aid from each</li> </ul>

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

**GOVERNMENT:** Global  
United Nations (UN)  
Iron Curtain  
satellite countries  
world revolution  
containment

Truman Doctrine  
Non-Aligned Movement  
  
**TECHNOLOGY:** Space  
mutual assured destruction  
*Sputnik*

**ECONOMICS:** International  
Marshall Plan  
Council for Mutual Economic  
Assistance (COMECON)

## Effects of the Cold War

*The only thing that kept the Cold War cold was the mutual deterrence afforded by nuclear weapons.*

—Chung Mong-joon, South Korean politician and business leader, 2013

**Essential Question:** In what ways did both the Soviet Union and the United States seek to maintain influence during the Cold War?

**W**ith the start of the Cold War, new military alliances for mutual protection formed in different parts of the world. The threat of nuclear war, as noted above by Chung Mong-joon, kept the United States and the Soviet Union from starting a war that could end in unprecedented global destruction. But **proxy wars**, such as the ones in Korea and Vietnam, resulted in millions of deaths. In a proxy war, a major power helps bring about a conflict between other nations but does not always fight directly. These conflicts underlined the political and philosophical divide between the superpowers.

The superpowers faced off in Cuba and several other Central American countries as well as in the African country of Angola. The combination of military, economic, and nuclear influence across the globe made the world a tense place for decades after World War II—the war the two superpowers had worked together to end.

### Allied Occupation of Germany

The conflict among the Allies after World War II was exemplified by the debate over how to occupy the defeated country of Germany. The Allies agreed to partition the country among France, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The three Western Allies wanted to combine their zones into one state under democratic principles.

**Berlin Blockade** The Allies also decided to divide Germany's capital, Berlin, into four zones. The three Western zones would become a free city that was located within the Soviet zone of Germany. The Soviets wanted to stop these Western plans and control all of Berlin. They set up a blockade of the Western zones in Berlin to prevent the West from moving supplies into the area by land. The Western Allies did not want to risk a military confrontation with the Soviets and ultimately began the **Berlin Airlift**. Through this operation,



the Allies flew supplies into Western zones between February 1948 and May 1949, when the Soviets lifted the blockade.

**Two Germanys** After the blockade ended, Germany split into two states. West Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany. East Germany became the German Democratic Republic. The division of Europe into East and West was complete.

**Berlin Wall** As citizens of East Germany saw the prosperity and democratic lifestyle of West Germany, many wanted to move to the West. Between 1949 and 1961, about 2.5 million East Germans fled.

However, the East German and Soviet governments were determined to keep people in East Germany. They knew that the exodus to the West reflected poorly on the communist system, and it was hard on their economy. They first set up barbed-wire fences patrolled by guards along the perimeter of East Germany and between East and West Berlin. In August 1961, they began replacing the fences in Berlin with a wall, which became known as the **Berlin Wall**. Between 1961 and 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, soldiers killed about 150 people as they tried to escape over it.

## NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and Other Alliances

Only a few years after World War II ended, the Soviet Union dominated the Eastern European countries they had occupied during the war. Communist governments in those countries—buoyed by support and the direct influence of Stalin—subjected their people to the same suppression and economic system as the Soviet Union. Many Western European countries feared such a dominant communist presence on their doorstep.

Out of a desire to coordinate their defenses in case of a conflict with the Soviets, several Western nations created the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in April 1949. The treaty pledged mutual support and cooperation within the alliance against conflicts and wars. Its original members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. Membership in this Brussels-based organization expanded considerably in the decades after its founding.

The Soviet Union's response to NATO was the **Warsaw Pact**, created in 1955. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union were the original members. Warsaw Pact nations combined their armed forces and based their army leaders in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. These nations were known as the **communist bloc**.

Two countries with communist political systems successfully resisted Soviet control. Albania, located next to Greece, joined the Warsaw Pact but withdrew in 1968. It became more closely tied to China. Yugoslavia, under the authoritarian leadership of Marshall Josip Broz Tito, never joined the Warsaw



Pact. In the 1990s, ethnic divisions caused Yugoslavia to break apart into several countries, including Slovenia, Serbia, and Croatia.

Other treaty organizations formed in an attempt to halt the spread of communism in other regions:

- In 1954, Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States formed the **Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)**.
- The **Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)** was an anti-Soviet treaty organization formed by Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and Turkey to prevent the spread of Communism in the Middle East. The United States was not a full member, but it joined CENTO'S military committee.

During the Cold War, the United States formed alliances with more than 40 states. It was sometimes easier for the United States to influence and negotiate through these smaller alliances than through the United Nations.

## Proxy Wars

The ideological Cold War was accompanied by hot wars in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. They were called proxy wars because the armies of smaller countries were proxies, or stand-ins, for the two superpowers. These wars often combined specific local issues, such as a battle against colonialism or for land reform (see Topic 8.4), with the international conflict over the spread of communism. Though proxy wars occurred in small countries, some resulted in millions of deaths.

Two of the biggest confrontations were the Korean War and Vietnam War in Asia. In both instances, the countries were split into northern and southern sections. In both countries, a communist government ruled the northern section.

**Korean War** Just as the victorious powers divided Germany after World War II, they also divided the Korean Peninsula. The Soviets occupied the north while the United States and its allies occupied the south. The **Korean War** (1950–1953) began when North Korea invaded South Korea in an attempt to reunite the country under its leadership. In response, the UN voted to defend South Korea militarily. The Soviet Union could have vetoed the resolution, but its representative was absent during the vote because the Soviet Union was boycotting all Security Council meetings in protest over a disagreement about China's seat on the Security Council.

UN military forces supporting the South Koreans came from 16 member countries, but the United States provided the largest number and the overall commander, General **Douglas MacArthur**. The Soviet Union did not send troops, but it sent money and weapons to North Korea. The UN forces pushed back the North Koreans across the inter-Korean border and drove toward North Korea's border with China. The Chinese, allies of North Korea and concerned that the UN forces would try to invade China as well, sent Chinese



troops across the border and entered the war against the United States and its allies. After three years of fighting and some four million civilian and military casualties, the war ended in a stalemate. The two parts of Korea remained divided, with a demilitarized zone in between.

**Vietnam War** U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, following the Truman policy of containment, sent military advisers to South Vietnam to train the South Vietnamese army and to prevent a communist takeover by North Vietnam. Eisenhower's successor, President John F. Kennedy, increased the number of advisers from 1,000 to 16,000. Some U.S. citizens believed America could not afford to lose a confrontation in Vietnam. They thought a communist victory would weaken U.S. prestige around the world.

However, the United States was supporting an undemocratic and unpopular South Vietnamese ruler, Ngo Dinh Diem. In 1963, Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc publicly set himself on fire in Saigon to protest the South Vietnamese government's favoring of Catholics over Buddhists. His protests inspired others. A military coup, with U.S. support, soon overthrew Diem.

In 1964, President **Lyndon Johnson** sent more U.S. troops to South Vietnam. Johnson believed in the **domino theory**—the idea that if one country in the region became communist, other countries would soon follow. Johnson feared that China and the Soviet Union would bring all of Southeast Asia under communist rule. (Connect: Trace foreign intervention in Southeast Asian affairs through the Vietnam War. See Topic 6.2.)

**The Bay of Pigs Crisis** Fidel Castro and other communist revolutionaries overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Castro soon set up a dictatorship in Cuba. On August 6, 1960, the new government started to nationalize foreign-owned industries, which was a common communist strategy. Cuba nationalized businesses and properties of the national telephone and electricity companies; Texaco, Esso, and Sinclair oil companies; and 36 sugar mills owned by U.S. firms. As a result of these economic losses for its citizens, the United States broke off trade with Cuba and cut diplomatic ties. Castro in turn accepted Soviet aid and aligned Cuba's foreign policy with that of the Soviet Union.

In 1961, newly elected U.S. President **John F. Kennedy** had grave concerns about the presence of a communist country located only 90 miles from the coast of Florida. Before Kennedy took office, a group of Cuban exiles who opposed Castro had asked for U.S. government backing to invade Cuba and overthrow Castro. Kennedy gave his support. The resulting **Bay of Pigs** invasion was a total failure. Even worse for the United States, it cemented the Cuba-Soviet alliance.

**The Cuban Missile Crisis** In response to the Bay of Pigs, the Soviets began to support Cuba with arms and military advisors. Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev**, who came to power after Stalin, saw an opportunity in Cuba. In 1962 he shipped nuclear missiles to Cuba. Khrushchev felt justified in his actions because in the summer of 1961 the United States had placed nuclear missiles in Turkey, a U.S. ally that shared a border with the Soviet Union.



In October 1962, U.S. intelligence learned that more missiles were on their way to Cuba. Kennedy ordered the U.S. Navy to prevent the missiles from reaching Cuba. He called his action a “quarantine” because a blockade was technically an act of war. Regardless of the term, the two superpowers were on a collision course that threatened nuclear war.

Ultimately, the two leaders pulled back from the brink. Khrushchev called back the Soviet ships and removed the missiles that had been delivered to Cuba. In return, the United States pledged to quietly remove its missiles from Turkey. After this incident, leaders of both countries realized that better communication between their countries was needed. In 1963, the two countries set up a **Hot Line**, a direct telegraph/teleprinter link between the U.S. and Soviet leaders’ offices.



Source: CIA (1962)

During the Cuban Missile Crisis, U.S. planes photographed evidence of Soviet missiles and sites in San Cristobal, Cuba. The image on the right is a U-2 reconnaissance photograph, showing Soviet nuclear missiles, their transports and tents for fueling and maintenance.

**Test-Ban Treaty** People worldwide worried about deaths and environmental harm from nuclear war or nuclear testing. In 1963, the Soviet Union, the United States, and more than 100 other states signed the **Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty**. France and China did not sign it. This agreement outlawed testing nuclear weapons above ground, underwater, and in space. The goal was to cut down the amount of radiation that people would be exposed to as a result of weapons testing. Underground testing remained legal. In 1968, the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** called on nuclear powers to prevent the spread of military nuclear technology and materials to non-nuclear countries.

**Angola** The Portuguese colony of Angola in southwest Africa won its independence in 1975, after 14 years of armed struggle. Like the Vietnamese, the Angolans had to fight a war to end their colonial status.

However, Angola faced greater ethnic conflict than did Vietnam. The borders of Angola, like those of many newly independent African countries, had been set by European colonial powers with little regard for traditional



regions. Rival ethnic groups were thrown together under one government. Angola was more a multiethnic empire consisting of three distinct cultural groups than a nation-state in which everyone shared a common culture. Each group had fought for independence. Each wanted to control the country's lucrative diamond mines. And each was supported by other countries:

- The USSR and Cuba backed the Mbundu tribe.
- South Africa backed the Ovimbundu tribe.
- The United States backed the Bankongo tribe.

Upon independence, civil war broke out. In 2002, after 27 years of fighting, the rivals agreed on a cease-fire. However, threats of violence from militant separatist groups remained.

**Contra War** In Nicaragua in 1979, the 43-year dictatorship by the Somoza family was ended by the rebel Sandinistas, who called themselves socialists. Two years later, conservative opponents of the Sandinistas, known as Contras, tried to overthrow them. From 1981 to 1988, the Contra War gripped the country. Wanting to isolate the Sandinistas, the United States heavily backed the Contras with covert support. The Contra War took the lives of tens of thousands of Nicaraguans. The war ended after the signing of the Tela Accord in 1989 and the demobilization of the Contra and Sandinista armies.

## Antinuclear Weapon Movement

The nuclear arms race spawned a reaction known as the **antinuclear weapons movement**. One of the first such movements developed in Japan in 1954 in opposition to U.S. testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean. In 1955, more than one-third of Japan's population signed a petition against nuclear weapons. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the antinuclear weapons movement expanded to other countries, particularly to the United States and Western Europe. On June 6, 1982, some one million people demonstrated in New York City against the creation, buildup, and possible use of nuclear weapons.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

#### GOVERNMENT:

International Conflicts  
proxy war  
Berlin Airlift  
Berlin Wall  
Korean War  
Vietnam War  
domino theory  
Bay of Pigs  
Cuban Missile Crisis  
Angola  
Contra War

#### GOVERNMENT: Treaties

North Atlantic Treaty  
Organization (NATO)  
Warsaw Pact  
communist bloc  
Southeast Asia Treaty  
Organization (SEATO)  
Central Treaty Organization  
(CENTO)  
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty  
Nuclear Non-Proliferation  
Treaty

#### TECHNOLOGY: Military

Hot Line

#### SOCIETY: Activism

antinuclear weapons  
movement

#### GOVERNMENT: Leaders

Douglas MacArthur  
Lyndon Johnson  
John F. Kennedy  
Nikita Khrushchev

## Spread of Communism after 1900

*The road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous.*

—Mao Zedong, 1949

**Essential Question:** How did communism and land reform affect China and other countries?

**T**he Cold War provided the context in which many countries wrestled with the legacies of their past. The combined heritage of feudalism, capitalism, and colonialism often resulted in societies with a small class of powerful landowners and a large class of peasants who owned little or no land. When socialists or communists sought to make more people into landowners, they got caught up in the U.S.-Soviet ideological battle. **Land reform** was a vital issue in China, Iran, Vietnam, Ethiopia, India, and a number of Latin American countries, including Mexico, Bolivia, and Venezuela.

### Communism in China

In China, the Communists and the Nationalists began fighting for control of the country in 1927. However, after the Japanese invaded, the two sides agreed to focus on fighting them instead of each other. (See Topic 7.5.)

**Victory by the Communists** After the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, the Chinese Civil War resumed. The Communists, led by **Mao Zedong**, won popular support because they redistributed land to peasants, opened schools and hospitals, and punished soldiers who mistreated civilians. Peasants saw the Communists as more nationalist and less corrupt than the Nationalists. In 1949, the Communists defeated the Nationalists and set up the People's Republic of China. Mao ordered the nationalization of Chinese industries and created five-year plans based on the Soviet model. Like the Soviets, the Chinese plans emphasized heavy industry instead of consumer goods.

**Great Leap Forward** In 1958, China went through more land reform as part of the policy called the **Great Leap Forward**. Peasant lands were organized into **communes**, large agricultural communities where the state held the land, not private owners. Those who protested this policy could be sent to “reeducation camps” or killed.



Even though failing harvests caused severe food shortages, China continued to export grain to Africa and Cuba. Mao sought to convince the outside world of the success of his economic plans. Some 20 million Chinese died from starvation. By 1960, the Great Leap Forward was abandoned.



Source: Wikimedia Commons.

During the Great Leap Forward, China set up small-scale backyard steel furnaces. However, they produced steel of very poor quality, and the effort was dropped.

**Cultural Revolution** In 1966, Mao attempted to reinvigorate China's commitment to communism, an effort called the **Cultural Revolution**. In practice, the Cultural Revolution silenced critics of Mao and solidified his hold on power. Its impact on China was similar to the impact of Stalin's purges in the Soviet Union. Mao ordered the **Red Guards**, groups of revolutionary students, to seize government officials, teachers, and others and send them to the countryside for reeducation. Reeducation involved performing hard physical labor and attending group meetings where Red Guards pressured them to admit they had not been revolutionary enough.

**Relations with the Soviets** Although China and the Soviet Union were both communist states, they were often hostile to each other. From 1961 onward, the two countries skirmished over their border. They also competed for influence around the world. For example, Albania, a Soviet satellite, took advantage of the split by allying with China against the Soviet Union, thereby receiving more autonomy and additional financial aid from China.

## Turmoil in Iran

The modern country of Iran fell under foreign domination in the late 19th century. Britain and Russia fought to control the area. The competition grew even keener when oil was discovered in Iran in the early 20th century.

**Foreign Influence** Early in World War II, the leader of Iran considered supporting Hitler's Nazi regime. Determined not to let that happen, Russia and Britain invaded Iran. They forced the leader to abdicate power to his young



son, Shah **Muhammad Reza Pahlavi**. They kept their forces in Iran until the end of the war.

Iranian nationalists objected to the new shah as a puppet of Western powers. In 1951, they forced him to flee the country. Two years later, Iran selected **Mohammad Mosaddegh** as prime minister. He vowed to nationalize the oil companies. The United States and Great Britain engineered an overthrow of the democratically chosen Mosaddegh and returned the shah to power. The shah ran an authoritarian regime that relied on a ruthless secret police force.

**Land Reform in the White Revolution** Despite his harsh rule, the shah instituted several progressive reforms, known as the **White Revolution** because they came without bloodshed. They included recognizing women's right to vote, creating a social welfare system, and funding literacy programs in villages.

The most important reform dealt with land ownership. The shah wanted to undercut the power of traditional landowners and increase his popularity among peasants. Under his plan, the government bought land from landlords and resold it at a lower price to peasants. The program helped many peasants become first-time landowners, but it failed to reach a majority of peasants.

Many Iranians—both landowners who had been forced to sell their land and frustrated peasants who received nothing—opposed the land reforms. Religious conservatives opposed modernizing the country, particularly changing the relationship between men and women. Advocates for greater democracy opposed the shah's harsh rule.

**The Iranian Revolution** In 1979, a revolution toppled the shah. Many Iranians supported the revolution because they vividly remembered the overthrow of the Mosaddegh government in 1953. The leaders to emerge from the revolution, though, were ones who rejected the shah's secular worldview for one that viewed Islam as a key part of the individual-state relationship. The new government was a **theocracy**, a form of government in which religion is the supreme authority. The new government was headed by a cleric and a Guardian Council, a body of civil and religious legal experts who were responsible for interpreting the constitution and making sure all laws complied with shariah (Islamic law). The clergy had the right to approve or disapprove anyone who ran for office. Iran opposed Western policies in the Middle East and the state of Israel.

## Land Reform in Latin America

Throughout Latin America, leaders saw the concentration of land ownership as a barrier to progress. Hence, as countries freed themselves from colonialism, they considered land reform. Mexico's effort dates back to the 1930s, but much of the land reform in Latin America took place in the 1960s or later.

**Venezuela** In Venezuela, for example, the government redistributed some five million acres of land. Some of the land was state-owned and not previously under cultivation, while other pieces of land were seized from large



landowners. The land reform, begun with a 2001 law, was not popular with the landowners who claimed that the state seized their property while it was under cultivation. Additional problems arose from illegal squatters who moved in to settle on lands that were not scheduled for land reform. Land reform efforts had political repercussions as well; those who benefitted were more willing to vote for the government instituting the reforms, while those from whom land was confiscated tended not to support the states that seized it. Land reform in Latin America varied in its details in each country, shaped partly by environmental factors, partly by a legacy from colonialism, and partly by the ideology of the rulers instituting the reforms.

**Guatemala** A democratically elected government under Jacob Arbenz in the Central American country of Guatemala began efforts at land reform. Feeling threatened, the United Fruit Company lobbied the U.S. government to remove the Arbenz. In 1954, he was overthrown.



**Source:** Diego Rivera, *Glorious Victory*, 1954. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia. Wikimedia Commons

The U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called the overthrow of Guatemala's government a "glorious victory for democracy." Diego Rivera used this phrase ironically for the title of his mural condemning the action. Rivera portrayed Dulles holding a bomb that featured the face of U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower.

## Land Reform in Asia and Africa

**Vietnam** During World War II, Japan occupied Vietnam, which France still claimed as a colony. At the end of the war in 1945, Vietnam declared independence from Japanese and French control. Vietnam was an agricultural society. A few people controlled most of the land. Communists vowed to seize land from the large landowners and redistribute it among the peasants. This pledge won them great support among peasants. When Communists took power in the north, they carried out their policies—sometimes violently. In South Vietnam, the government was slow to implement land reform, which was one reason it remained unpopular.

**Ethiopia** Other than a short period from 1936 to 1941 when it was under Italian occupation, Ethiopia had remained an independent country, but it suffered problems similar to those of many colonies. During World War II, exiled Ethiopian leader **Haile Selassie** returned to power. He aligned the country with the western powers after the war, and Ethiopia enjoyed economic success based largely on its coffee trade. This led to western-style political and cultural reforms. Selassie was unable to effectively implement land reforms in Ethiopia. By the 1960s, the country was souring on his leadership. Many people saw him as a pawn of U.S. imperialism.

In 1974, a group of military and civilian leaders deposed Selassie. One of the primary figures was **Mengistu Haile Mariam**, an Ethiopian native and major in the military. He ordered the assassination of 60 former regime officials. The new government declared itself socialist and received aid and weapons from the Soviet Union and other communist countries. Famine, failed economic policies, and rebellion marred Mengistu's leadership. By 1991, he had resigned and fled to Zimbabwe.

**India** Southern Asia had been under British rule since 1858. That changed in 1947. Mahatma Gandhi had led the independence movement against England since the 1920s, but it wasn't until after World War II that India became independent. India was partitioned in 1947, creating two countries: Pakistan and India. Pakistan was overwhelmingly Muslim, and India was largely Hindu.

Both countries struggled to establish their new relationship and economies. India undertook economic reforms. It instituted land reforms and tried to redistribute some land to the landless, abolish the overwhelming power of rent collectors, protect land renters, and promote cooperative farming. The results were mixed. However, in Kerala, a series of policies had some success:

- 1960: The state passed land reform, but they were overturned by courts.
- 1963: Tenant won the right to purchase land from landowners.
- 1969: New laws allow tenants to become full owners of land.
- 1974: Laws provide for fixed hours of work and minimum wages.

Despite the popularity of the land reform program, the Indian central government took direct rule of Kerala in order to slow down or reverse the program.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

**SOCIETY:** Global  
land reform  
commune  
theocracy

**GOVERNMENT:** Asia  
Mao Zedong  
Great Leap Forward  
Cultural Revolution  
Red Guards  
White Revolution

**GOVERNMENT:** Middle East  
Muhammad Reza Pahlavi  
Mohammad Mosaddegh  
Haile Selassie  
Mengistu Haile Mariam



## Decolonization after 1900

*From its inception, South Vietnam was only considered to be an outpost in the war against communism.*

—Nguyen Cao Ky (1930–2011)

**Essential Question:** How did people pursue independence after 1900?

In the 20th century, nationalist groups and leaders challenged colonial rule not only through land reform but also through political negotiation, as in India, and armed struggle, as in Angola (See Topic 8.3.) Struggles for independence after World War I and the failure of many independence movements added to anticolonial sentiments during World War II. Empires became politically unacceptable. European powers struggled to hold onto their colonies. Notions of freedom born of World War II rhetoric helped speed up decolonization. That process coincided with the Cold War and the development of the United Nations. Nguyen Cao Ky, a South Vietnamese military and political leader, noted (above) that his country's war was part of the Cold War.

### Movements for Autonomy: India and Pakistan

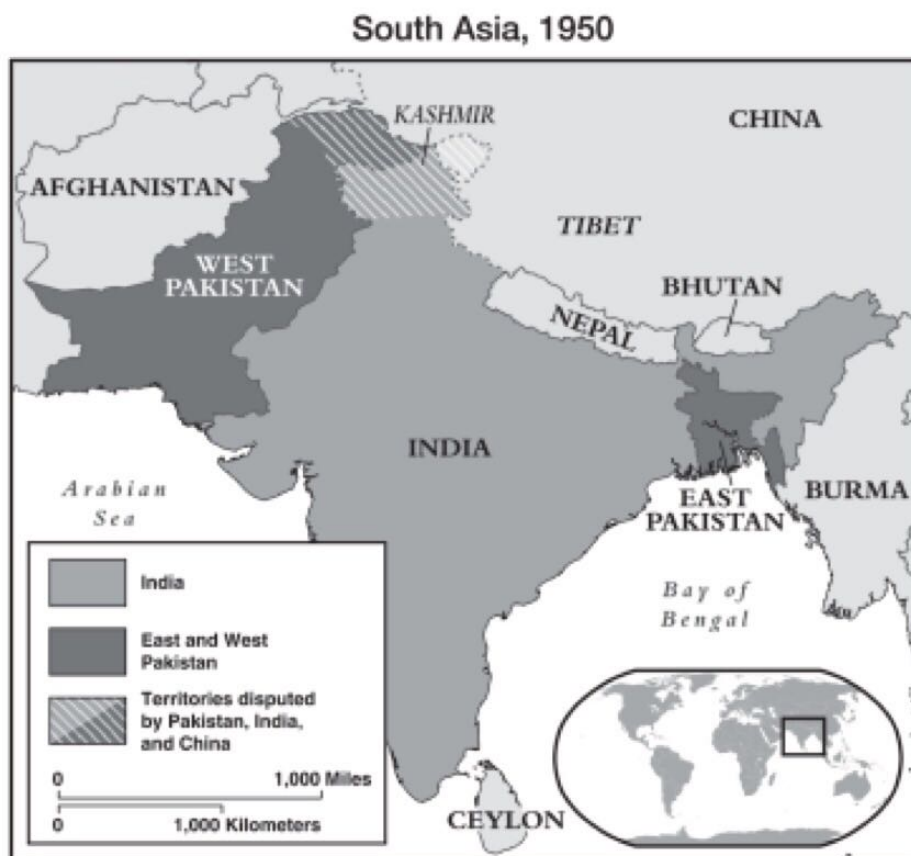
The drive for Indian self-rule began in the 19th century with the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Its leader in 1920 was Mohandas Gandhi. Hindu and Muslim groups, united by their desire to get rid of the British, supported the independence movement in South Asia. The National Congress's tactics included mass civil disobedience, and it remained a powerful governmental force after Indian independence. The **Muslim League**, founded in 1906, advocated a separate nation for Indian Muslims.

Not all Indian leaders agreed with Gandhi's nonviolent, noncooperation movement or his call for unity between Muslims and Hindus. However, they put aside their differences until after World War II. Then leaders again demanded independence.

After the war, Britain grew weaker as India's fighting abilities grew stronger. When Britain failed to follow through on promises for more rights for Indians, Indian people increased their protests for full independence from British rule. The Royal Indian Navy Revolt in 1946 was instrumental in bringing Britain to the realization it could no longer rule India. As a result of

economic pressures from India and from its own sluggish postwar recovery, Britain was ready to negotiate independence in South Asia.

**Division and Conflict** Muslims feared living in an independent India dominated by Hindus. Distrust between Muslims and Hindus dated back centuries to the 8th century, when Muslims invaded Hindu kingdoms in northern India. Muslims campaigned for an independent Muslim country—Pakistan. India and Pakistan both gained independence in 1947.



## Decolonization in Ghana and Algeria

Britain agreed to negotiate independence for its West African colony of the Gold Coast, just as it had for its colonies in South Asia. The Gold Coast combined with the former British Togoland to form Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in the 20th century. (The new country of Ghana was smaller in area than the historic kingdom of the same name.) Negotiations led by the United Nations helped bring about Ghana's independence in 1957. Its first president, **Kwame Nkrumah**, took office in 1960.

Ideas from modern nation-states influenced Ghanaian nationalism. Nkrumah emulated nationalistic traditions he learned during his time in the United States and Britain. For example, Nkrumah constructed a national narrative that centered on having a historical past of glory and rich tradition, founding fathers, a currency, a flag, an anthem, museums, and monuments. He was responsible for numerous public works and development projects, such



as hydroelectric plants. However, some critics accused him of running the country into debt and allowing widespread corruption—an economic pattern that often happened in later African dictatorships. In 1964, Nkrumah claimed dictatorial powers when the voters agreed to a **one-party state**, with him as party leader.

Nkrumah strongly advocated Pan-Africanism, a term with multiple meanings. In the 19th century, American and British abolitionists called their plans to return former slaves to their homes in Africa Pan-Africanism or Africa for Africans. The country of Liberia was founded on this vision. In the second half of the 20th century, for some Africans, the term Pan-Africanism meant a celebration of unity of culture and ideas throughout the continent. These Pan-Africanists rejected intervention by former colonial powers.

In keeping with his vision of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah founded the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** in 1963. However, three years later, a military coup overthrew Nkrumah's government and expelled many foreigners from the country. Not until 2000 would Ghana witness a peaceful transfer of civilian power from one elected president to another.

**Algeria** In northern Africa, the French colony of Algeria endured far more violence than Ghana before becoming independent. Mounting social, political, and economic crises in Algeria resulted in political protests. The French government responded with restrictive laws and violence.

Many Algerians, driven by feelings of nationalism, campaigned for independence after World War II. The **Algerian War for Independence** began in 1954, and it involved many groups. Because so many French people lived in Algeria as settlers, the French government considered Algeria a part of France and was adamant that it could not become a separate country. The FLN (National Liberation Front) led the Algerian movement for independence. The FLN sought self-determination through guerrilla techniques against half a million French forces sent to Algeria. While French military casualties were relatively low, hundreds of thousands of Algerians died in the war, often in violent street-by-street battles. French historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet confessed that there were “hundreds of thousands of instances of torture” by the French military in Algeria.

The Algerian conflict caused sharp divisions in France. The French Communist Party, powerful at the time, favored Algerian independence. Violence broke out in cities throughout France. In 1958, French President **Charles de Gaulle** had a new mandate for expanded presidential power under the constitution of the new Fifth Republic. De Gaulle planned the steps through which Algeria would gain independence. He then went straight to the people of France and Algeria to gain approval of his plan in a referendum, thereby bypassing the French National Assembly.

However, with the coming of independence in 1962, war broke out again in Algeria. Thousands of pro-French Algerians and settlers fled the country. The influx of these refugees into France created housing and employment



problems as well as increased anti-immigration sentiment. Violence in Algeria left between 50,000 and 150,000 dead at the hands of FLN and lynch mobs.

The first president of the new Algerian Republic was overthrown in 1965 in a military coup led by his former ally. The National Liberation Front continued in power under different leadership, making Algeria a single-party state for a number of years. The FLN maintained a socialist authoritarian government that did not tolerate dissent. Meanwhile, the government led a drive for modernization of industry and collectivization of agriculture.

**Algerian Civil War** In 1991, violence again surfaced in Algeria, this time in reaction to one-party rule. The Islamic Salvation Front won the first round in an election that was then canceled. A bloody **Algerian Civil War** followed (1991–2002), during which the FLN continued in control. The army chose President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in 1999. In his second term, he attempted to be more inclusive of insurgents, although suicide bombings continued. In 2011, the military state of emergency, in place since 1992, was finally lifted in response to protests in the wake of major uprisings in nearby states, including Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya.

**Comparing Ghana and Algeria** Both Ghana and Algeria experienced growing pains under military rule. The main struggles were between those who favored multiparty states and those who favored single-party socialism. Ghana created a new constitution in 1992, easing the transfer of power between elected governments. One point of national pride was that a Ghanaian leader, Kofi Annan, became UN Secretary General in 1997. In Algeria, by contrast, religious tensions grew worse. As in other countries in North Africa and the Middle East, a growing right-wing Islamist movement that was willing to use violence challenged the power of mainstream Muslims. In 1992, an Islamist assassinated Algeria's president. As in Egypt and Turkey, the military responded by repressing Islamic fundamentalists. In 1997, Algeria banned political parties that were based on religion.

## Negotiated Independence in French West Africa

As Britain negotiated independence with its African colonies, France did the same with its colonies in French West Africa. These included Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta, and other territories. France had controlled them since the late 1800s with small military forces. France used indirect rule, which relied on local chiefs, existing governments, and other African leaders to maintain stability.

Over the years, France invested in West Africa, building railroads, advancing agricultural development, and benefitting in trade revenue that grew substantially. But by the mid-1950s, various African political parties (democratic, socialist, and communist) and leaders arose in French West Africa. By 1959, many of the French West African countries had negotiated their independence from France.



## Nationalism and Division in Vietnam

World War II interrupted France's long colonial rule in Indochina, but France reoccupied the southern portion of Vietnam when the war ended. A bloody struggle began against the forces of **Ho Chi Minh**, the communist leader of North Vietnam. He appealed to nationalist feelings to unite the country under a single communist government.

France responded by attempting to reestablish its colonial rule, sparking a Vietnamese war of independence that lasted until 1954. The peace treaty split the country into North and South Vietnam, with elections planned for 1956 that would reunite the country. However, many in South Vietnam, along with the United States, opposed the Communists and feared Ho would win the election. No election took place.

War broke out between the communist North and the South. U.S. military troops supported the South. South Vietnamese who supported the Communists, known as **Viet Cong**, fought a guerrilla war against U.S. troops.

As the Vietnam War worsened, American military involvement and casualties grew. In response, the antiwar movement became more vocal. President Richard Nixon began to withdraw U.S. troops in 1971; the last troops left in 1975. North Vietnam quickly gained control of South Vietnam. It is estimated that the Vietnam War resulted in between one million and two million deaths, including about 58,000 Americans. It also destabilized Southeast Asia. Communists soon won control of Laos and Cambodia, but the spread of communism stopped there.

Beginning in the 1980s, Vietnam introduced some market-based economic reforms. In following years, Vietnam and the United States reestablished trade and diplomatic relations. (Connect: Write an outline connecting Vietnam's fight for independence with the Vietnam War. See Topics 6.2 and 8.4.)

## Struggles and Compromise in Egypt

Having long been under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt became a nominally independent kingdom in 1922. However, the British retained some of the same treaty rights there that they had held under their mandate following World War I. A 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty allowed more Egyptian autonomy. Still, it also allowed the British to keep soldiers in Egypt to protect the Suez Canal. The British army continued to influence Egyptian internal affairs.

**Nasser** Following World War II, Egypt became one of six founding members of the Arab League, which grew to 22 member states. In 1952, General **Gamal Abdel Nasser**, along with Muhammad Naguib, overthrew the king and established the Republic of Egypt. Naguib became its first president; Nasser its second. Nasser was a great proponent of Pan-Arabism, a movement promoting the cultural and political unity of Arab nations. Similar transnational movements would attempt to unite all Africans (Pan-Africanism) and all working people (communism).



Nasser's domestic policies blended Islam and socialism. He instituted land reform, transforming private farms into socialist cooperatives that would maintain the existing irrigation and drainage systems and share profits from crops. He nationalized some industries and businesses, including foreign-owned banks, taking them over and running them as state enterprises. However, Nasser touched off an international crisis when he nationalized the Suez Canal.

**The Suez Crisis** Built by Egyptian laborers—thousands of whom died while working on the project—with money from French investment between 1859 and 1869, the Suez Canal had been under lease to the French for 99 years. To the Egyptians, this lease symbolized colonial exploitation, which Nasser pledged to fight. In addition, the British owned interests in the canal, which they administered jointly with the French. In 1956, Nasser seized the canal, and Israel invaded Egypt at the behest of Britain and France. The two European countries then occupied the area around the canal, claiming they were enforcing a UN cease-fire. However, the United States and the Soviet Union opposed British and French actions and used the United Nations to broker a resolution to the **Suez Crisis**.

The removal of foreign troops was followed by an agreement for the canal to become an international waterway open to traffic of all nations under the sovereignty of Egypt. The UN deployed peacekeepers to the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. Britain, France, and Israel were not happy with the interference of the United States in the Suez Crisis, but U.S. efforts led to a peaceful compromise. The incident also was an example of a nation maintaining a non-aligned position between the United States and the Soviet Union—the two superpowers in the Cold War.

## Independence and Civil War in Nigeria

The western African country of Nigeria, the most populous state on the continent, gained independence from Britain in 1960. The **Biafran Civil War** began in 1967 when the Igbos, a Westernized, predominantly Christian tribe in the southeastern oil-rich Niger River Delta area, tried to secede from the northern-dominated government. The Igbos sought autonomy because of targeted attacks against them by the Hausa-Fulani Islamic group in the north. They declared themselves an independent nation called Biafra.

The Igbos' secession movement failed, and Biafra ceased to exist when the war ended, in 1970. Nigeria granted amnesty to a majority of Igbo generals, but civilian government did not return. A series of military coups with generals in command of the government continued until the 1999 election of Olusegun Obasanjo, who presided over a democratic civilian government called the Fourth Republic of Nigeria.

In an effort to prevent tribalism from destroying the country, the government established a federation of 36 states with borders that cut across ethnic and religious lines. However, friction continued between Christian Yoruba, Igbo groups in the south, and Islamic groups in the northern states.



The constitution of Nigeria permitted states to vote for a dual legal system of secular law and shariah. Eleven states voted for this option. In an additional effort to discourage ethnic strife, the constitution encouraged intermarriage among the ethnic groups.

Problems remained in the Niger River Delta, which had rich oil deposits. Citizens complained that the national government exploited oil resources without returning wealth to the region. Also, they contended that the oil companies had polluted their lands and rivers. Militants set fire to oil wells and pipelines in protest.

## Canada and the “Silent Revolution” in Quebec

Quebec is the largest of Canada’s provinces, and its history is deeply rooted in French culture. France’s North American colonial territory in the early 1700s spanned from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico. By the late 1700s, England controlled what was called New France, beginning a cultural and political divide in Quebec. People in New France were mainly Catholic, while the English-speaking parts of Britain’s Canadian colony were mainly Protestant.

The Quebecois historically aligned themselves with France rather than England. Over the centuries, efforts to create a separate independent state have flared up—sometimes with violent results. The **Quiet Revolution** of the 1960s involved much political and social change in Quebec, with the Liberal Party gaining power and reforming economic policies that led to further desires for separation from the rest of British-controlled Canada. French Canadian nationalism expanded, and splinter groups adopted extreme tactics, including terrorist bombings that began in 1963. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, a native of Quebec, was able to preserve the country’s unity. Later, in 1995, a referendum to make Quebec an independent nation failed by a narrow margin.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

#### **GOVERNMENT: Leaders**

Kwame Nkrumah  
Charles de Gaulle  
Ho Chi Minh  
Gamal Abdel Nasser

#### **GOVERNMENT: Structures**

one-party state

#### **GOVERNMENT: Wars, Conflicts, and Compromises**

Algerian War for  
Independence  
Algerian Civil War  
Suez Crisis  
Biafran Civil War  
Quiet Revolution

#### **SOCIETY: Pro-Independence Organizations**

Muslim League  
Organization of African Unity  
(OAU)

#### **SOCIETY: Military-Political Organizations**

Viet Cong

## Newly Independent States

*India is free but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom.*

—Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950)

**Essential Question:** What political changes led to territorial, demographic, and nationalist developments and the economic shifts that resulted?

As imperialistic powers handed over governmental control to their former colonies, they often created new states. Between 1945 and 2000, the number of independent states in the world more than doubled, from approximately 75 to around 190. The boundaries of the new states often led to conflicts, population displacement, and resettlement. In India, as lamented by Sri Aurobindo, an Indian nationalist and philosopher, the country was partitioned into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. Later, Pakistan divided again, creating Bangladesh. In the Middle East, the newly created Israel displaced Palestinian residents.

Newly independent countries often instituted strong policies to promote economic development. At the same time, migrants from the newly independent countries kept alive cultural and economic ties as they migrated to the colonizing countries, usually to the large cities.

### Israel's Founding and Its Relationships with Neighbors

The **Zionist movement** originated in the 1890s from reaction to the Dreyfus Affair. (See Topic 5.1.) Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian Jewish intellectual and journalist, used the affair as evidence that assimilation of Jews into European society was failing to provide safety and equal opportunity. At the First Zionist Congress in 1897, he urged the creation of a separate Jewish state.

**Birth of Israel** Zionists hoped that the new state could be established in Palestine because that was where their ancestors had lived. In modern times, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire, and most of its inhabitants were Arabs who practiced Islam. In a new state, Zionists argued, Jews could be free of persecution. In 1917, during World War I, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, which favored the establishment in Palestine of a “national home” for the Jewish people. However, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour wrote that “nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.”



The situation was complicated because British officer T. E. Lawrence, known as “Lawrence of Arabia,” promised certain Arabs an independent state as well. The British Foreign Office hoped that Arabs would rise up against the Ottoman Empire, which would make it easier to defeat during World War I. The Balfour Declaration promised civil and religious rights to non-Jews in Palestine, but the supporters of the Arabs did not trust the British.

In 1918, after World War I, Britain was given a mandate over former Ottoman lands in the Middle East. Soon Zionists began to immigrate to Palestine from Europe and from other Middle Eastern areas. As immigration increased, the Arabs in the area protested their loss of land and traditional Islamic way of life.

World War II and the deaths of six million Jews in the Holocaust provided another impetus for Jewish immigration. The fate of the European Jews brought worldwide sympathy for the survivors. Britain, trying to hold the line on Jewish immigration in the face of Arab opposition, turned the matter over to the United Nations. As in India, leaders hoped that partition would bring peace and stability. In 1948, after the UN divided Palestine into Jewish and Arab sections, the Jewish section declared itself to be a new country: Israel.

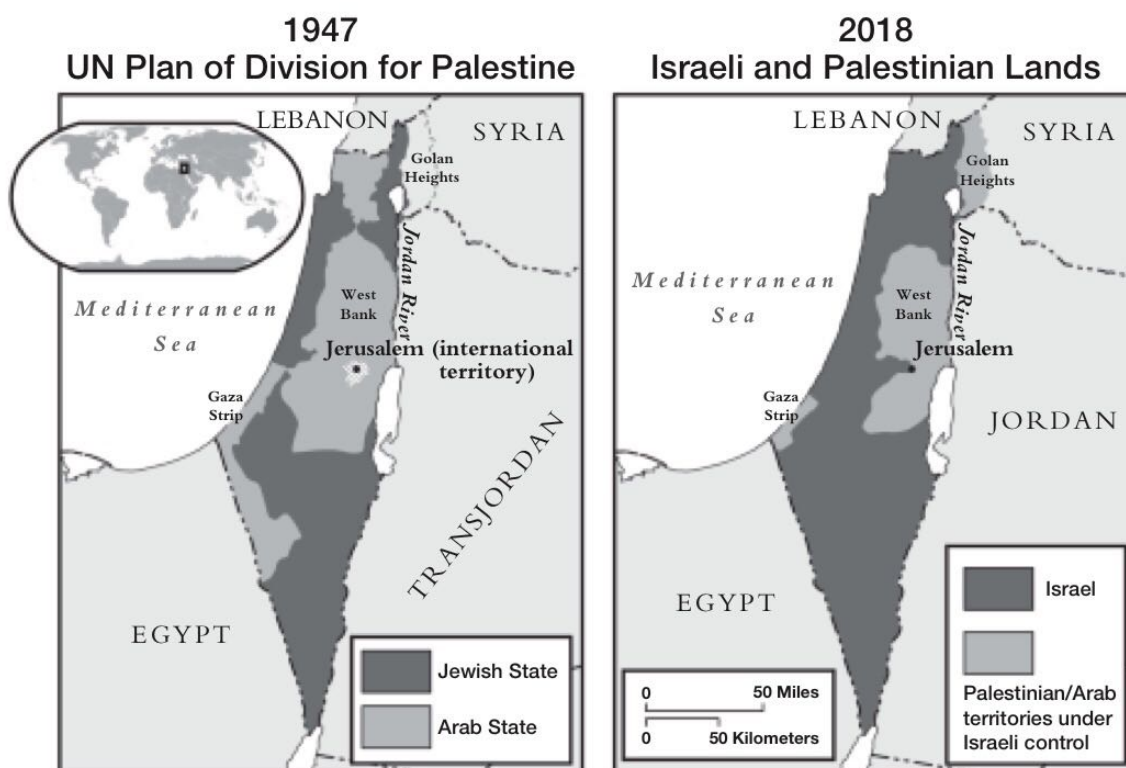
**Multiple Wars** War broke out immediately between Israel, which had support from the United States, and the Palestinians, who had support from neighboring Arab countries. Arab forces from Syria, Jordan (then called Transjordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel. After several cease-fires, the Israeli army won, and an armed truce was declared. Immediately after the truce, about 400,000 Palestinians became refugees, living in camps near the Israeli border. Three other Israeli-Palestinian wars followed:

- In 1956, Israel, with support from France and Great Britain, invaded Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula, in part to liberate the Suez Canal, which the Egyptian government had nationalized under Gamal Abdel Nasser’s economic programs (See Topic 8.5.) Following international protests, Israel and its allied forces were ordered to withdraw from Egypt.
- In the **Six-Day War** of 1967, Israel fought on three fronts at once. Israel gained the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria.
- In the **Yom Kippur War** of 1973, Israel repelled a surprise invasion by Egypt and Syria.

**Israeli-Egyptian Peace** After 30 years of conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, U.S. President Jimmy Carter mediated the **Camp David Accords**, a peace agreement between Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. However, the Palestinians and several Arab states rejected the 1979 peace treaty. The **Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)** and its longtime leader Yasser Arafat wanted the return of occupied lands and the creation of an independent nation of Palestine.

**Ongoing Violence** In the 21st century, the peace process became more complicated when the Palestinians split into two factions. The **Fatah** faction controlled the West Bank. The **Hamas** faction controlled Gaza. Security concerns led the Israeli government to implement tighter border controls on the West Bank and on Gaza. These controls, amounting to economic sanctions, severely restricted normal activity for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and fomented anger. Israel further angered Palestinians by approving new settlements on lands it had occupied during previous wars, lands Palestinians considered theirs.

Without a peace process, violence continued. Between 2000 and 2014, over 7,000 Palestinian and over 1,000 Israelis were killed. Many countries in the Middle East remained hostile to United States over its support of Israel.



## Cambodia Gains Independence and Survives Wars

After World War II, Vietnam's neighbor Cambodia pressured France to grant it independence in 1953. Cambodia's royal family continued to head the government and tried to maintain its status as a non-aligned nation during the first two decades of the Cold War. However, Cambodia was eventually drawn into the Vietnam War.

Following the Vietnam War, a communist guerrilla organization called the **Khmer Rouge**, under the leadership of Pol Pot, overthrew the right-wing government of Cambodia. Once in power, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge imposed a ruthless form of communism, following the Chinese model of "cultural revolution" that targeted intellectuals and dissenters. The slaughter



and famine that followed took more than two million lives—about one-quarter of the country’s population. Mass graves of victims from the “killing fields” of Cambodia continued to be discovered in the countryside and jungles for decades afterward. (Connect: Create a graphic organizer comparing the tactics of the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot with that of Joseph Stalin. See Topic 7.4.)

In 1977, Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia to support opponents of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. At the end of the ensuing war, the Vietnamese took control of the government in Cambodia and helped the country to regain some stability, even as some fighting continued and hundreds of thousands of refugees fled the country. In 1989, Vietnamese forces completed their withdrawal from Cambodia. A peace agreement reached in 1991 allowed free elections, monitored by the United Nations. Prince Norodom Sihanouk became a constitutional monarch, and the country developed a democratic government with multiple political parties and aspects of a market economy.

## India and Pakistan Become Separate Countries

In 1947, the British divided colonial India into two independent countries: a mostly Hindu India and a mostly Muslim Pakistan. India’s population was about 10 times larger than Pakistan’s. In both countries, women had the right to vote.

The partition of the colony was chaotic, and violence broke out along religious lines. At least 10 million people moved: Hindus and Sikhs fled their homes in Pakistan to resettle in India, and Muslims fled India for Pakistan. In the political turmoil, between 500,000 and one million people died.



**Source:** Wikimedia Commons

This Buddhist shrine at Choeng Ek, Cambodia, houses remains of victims of the Khmer Rouge in the “killing fields.”

After partition, Pakistani-India distrust grew. While India became the world's largest democracy, Pakistan had both elected leaders and authoritarian military rulers. Moderates in both countries confronted powerful conservative religious movements that opposed compromise with the other country.

**Kashmir Conflict** One persistent tension between India and Pakistan was over **Kashmir**, a border region in the mountainous north. At the time of partition, most people in Kashmir were Muslims, but its leader was a Hindu. Therefore, both Pakistan and India claimed Kashmir. At times the rivalry there broke out into armed conflict. The tension between the two countries became more significant after each began developing nuclear weapons. Eventually, India controlled about 45 percent of the Kashmir region, Pakistan controlled about 35 percent, and China controlled about 20 percent.

## Women Gain Power in South Asia

In some newly emerging countries, women became heads of state. Often, they replaced their fathers or husbands. In India and Pakistan, women won the right to vote in 1947.

**Sri Lanka** The world's first female prime minister was **Sirimavo Bandaranaike**. She won that position in 1960 in Ceylon (later Sri Lanka). Her husband was assassinated in office in 1959, and Bandaranaike ran for office to fill his seat. She continued her husband's socialist economic policies. But in 1965, with a sagging economy, she was voted out of office. Five years later, she returned to power and instituted much more radical policies, including land reforms, restrictions on free enterprise, and a new constitution that changed the country's name to Sri Lanka. While some of her reforms succeeded, the economy stalled again, and in 1977, she was again voted out of office.

Bandaranaike remained active in Sri Lankan politics. Her children became leaders as well. When her daughter Chandrika became the country's first female president in 1994, she appointed her mother again to the role of prime minister.

**India** In 1966, two years after the death of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, his only child, **Indira Gandhi**, became India's leader. (She was not related to Mohandas Gandhi.) She was underestimated at first but proved to be effective, distancing herself in some ways from her father's old-guard advisors and making political and economic moves to strengthen India's economy. War with Pakistan took a toll on the economy, though India won the conflict with the help of military support from the Soviet Union.

Indira Gandhi became a revered leader in India, though further economic strife would undermine her popularity in the ensuing years. High inflation and growing poverty threatened her rule. She declared a national emergency in 1975 and jailed many opposition leaders. Her 20-point economic program proved successful, alleviating inflation, reforming corrupt laws, and increasing national production. But some of her policies were unpopular with the people of India despite the economic gains. In 1977, Gandhi lost in the elections. She returned to power as prime minister in 1980 but was assassinated in 1984.





**Pakistan** Pakistan elected **Benazir Bhutto** prime minister in 1988. Her father had also served as prime minister. She was the first elected female leader of a majority Muslim country. Bhutto struggled to improve Pakistan’s economy and reduce its poverty. Corruption charges dogged her and her husband. Bhutto won election to two nonconsecutive terms and then went into exile from 1999 until 2007. Shortly after she returned to Pakistan, an assassin killed her.

**Tanzania Modernizes**

Tanganyika gained its independence from Britain in 1961, later becoming the United Republic of Tanzania. Its first president, **Julius Nyerere**, instituted African socialist political and economic ideas—summarized in the Arusha Declaration of 1967. It was an egalitarian approach based on cooperative agriculture. Literacy campaigns, free education, and collective farming were key components of what Nyerere called *ujamaa* (Swahili for “familyhood”). He also advanced the country’s economic independence away from foreign aid. Economic hardships challenged Nyerere’s leadership for years, as did conflicts with Uganda and its leader Idi Amin. Though personally popular, Nyerere could not pull Tanzania out of poverty. He resigned the presidency in 1985 but remained an important social leader until his death in 1999.

**Emigration from Newer Countries to Older Ones**

People from these newly independent countries sometimes moved to the former colonial powers. For example, large numbers of refugees and immigrants from Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh moved to London after the chaos of World War II and other conflicts. London was a **metropole**—a large city of a former colonial ruler. Similarly, Vietnamese, Algerians, and West Africans migrated to Paris and other cities in France, and Filipinos migrated to the United States. Many migrants found jobs in the medical field. Others worked on railroads, in foundries, and in airports. In this way, economic and cultural ties between the colonial power and newly independent countries remained strong.

KEY TERMS BY THEME		
<b>GOVERNMENT:</b> The Middle East Six-Day War Yom Kippur War Camp David Accords Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) Fatah Hamas	<b>GOVERNMENT:</b> Asia Khmer Rouge Kashmir Sirimavo Bandaranaike Indira Gandhi Benazir Bhutto	<b>GOVERNMENT:</b> Africa Julius Nyerere  <b>ENVIRONMENT:</b> Emigration metropole

# Global Resistance to Established Power Structures

*What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?*

—Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948)

**Essential Question:** What were differing reactions to existing power structures after 1900?

The conflicts of the 20th century affected newly independent states and long-established ones. Some of the most successful challenges to existing order, such as the one led by Mohandas Gandhi, used nonviolence. Other movements, such as Shining Path in Peru, used violence against civilians to achieve political results. Some leaders, such as Francisco Franco in Spain, used the military to crush resistance. The military-industrial complex that President Eisenhower warned about took hold in other countries, as governments increased arms supplies and traded weapons with one another.

## Nonviolent Resistance as a Path to Change

Despite the frequent wars and violent protests of the 20th century, movements around the world also used nonviolence to bring about political change. Three of these movements were particularly large and effective, in part because of their visionary leaders.

**Mohandas Gandhi** Topic 7.5 described how Mohandas Gandhi led nonviolent marches, boycotts, and fasts to oppose British colonial rule in India. In 1947, India became independent.

**Martin Luther King Jr.** The most prominent of African American civil rights leaders in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s was a Baptist minister, the Reverend **Martin Luther King Jr.** The civil rights movement used various tactics to achieve its goals:

- Court decisions, such as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, that banned forced racial segregation of schools in the United States



- A year-long boycott of public buses in Montgomery, Alabama (1955–1956), which ended segregation in public transit
- Massive marches, such as the 250,000-person March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1964

These efforts provided the foundation for the movement's biggest successes, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1965, which is covered in Topic 9.5.

**Nelson Mandela** In South Africa, the white-minority government codified a system of racial segregation, called apartheid, into law in the 20th century. Leading the black resistance to apartheid was a socialist lawyer, **Nelson Mandela** (1918–2013). Though early in his life he sometimes supported sabotage and other forms of violence, he was known for leading nonviolent protests. The victory over apartheid is described in Topic 9.5.

## Challenges to Soviet Power in Eastern Europe

In the 1950s and 1960s, reformers in Eastern European satellites of the Soviet Union sought to become less dominated by the Soviets. In most cases, the Soviets clamped down hard against dissent.

**Poland** In 1956, Polish workers demonstrated against Soviet domination and demanded better living conditions. As a result, a new secretary of the Polish Communist Party, **Wladyslaw Gomulka**, came to power. He decided to pursue an independent domestic policy in Poland but continued to be loyal to the Soviet Union, allowing the continued presence of Soviet troops in Poland. The Soviet-established forced collectivization of farms ended at this time.

**Hungary** In that same year, Hungarian protesters convinced the country's political leader **Imre Nagy** to declare Hungary's freedom from Soviet control and demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. Nagy vowed to support free elections in which non-Communist parties would participate. He announced Hungary's neutrality in the Cold War and the withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Soviet leaders responded by invading Hungary, gaining control of Budapest in 1956. The Soviets captured Nagy and executed him. Many Hungarians fled to the West as refugees.

**Czechoslovakia** The reform movement in Czechoslovakia reached a peak in the **Prague Spring** of 1968. **Alexander Dubcek**, first secretary of the Communist Party, acceded to the demands of the Czech people by increasing freedom of speech and the press and allowing greater freedom to travel. He also agreed to make the political system more democratic.

As with Hungary, Soviet leaders feared the Prague Spring's independence. Soon the armies of four Warsaw Pact nations crushed it. In 1968, the Soviet Union used the **Brezhnev Doctrine**, named for then-Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, to justify its actions. This doctrine stated that the Soviet Union and its allies would intervene if an action by one member threatened other socialist countries. (Connect: Explain the continuity or change between the Eastern European resistance movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. See Topic 6.3.)



## 1968: The Year of Revolt

Events in Czechoslovakia were just one of many upheavals in 1968:

- In Yugoslavia, students marched against authoritarian government.
- In Poland and Northern Ireland, people protested over religious issues.
- In Brazil, marchers demanded improvements in public education and fairer treatment of workers.
- In Japan, students protested both university financial policies and government support for the United States in the war in Vietnam.

In many countries, protests took place on university campuses. Tensions started building up after World War II, when higher education had opened up for more people in Western society and facilities were crowded. As a result, discontent was high among the student population by the 1960s, resulting in a call for university reforms. Student grievances mounted as civil rights, women's rights, workers' rights, and the war in Vietnam commanded attention.



Source: Wikimedia Commons

The student movement in Mexico was met by military resistance. Two months before the 1968 Olympics began in Mexico City, armored vehicles entered the city to suppress the social movement.

**France** In 1968, the student movement reached epic proportions in Paris, France. Hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets, resulting in violence when police forces moved in. In sympathy, some 10 million French workers went on strike. It was the largest general strike in French history. President Charles de Gaulle called new elections in France and was able to remain in office when his party won.



**The United States** In the United States, students and others demonstrated for rights for women and African Americans. However, the largest and most heated protests were against the country's involvement in the war in Vietnam. After members of the Ohio National Guard killed four unarmed students during an antiwar demonstration at **Kent State University** on May 4, 1970, students and faculty at hundreds of U.S. colleges and universities went on strike.

## An Age of Terrorism

In the post-Cold War period, large-scale open conflict between sovereign states was rare. Instead, individuals unaffiliated with any government committed terrorist acts in Western Europe, South America, the Islamic world, and the United States that intimidated and murdered civilians.

**Conflict in Northern Ireland** Most of Ireland, the portion dominated by Roman Catholics, gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1922. However, Northern Ireland, which was dominated by Protestants, remained part of the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland Catholics suffered discrimination, and many wanted their region to join the rest of the Irish Republic. Northern Ireland Protestants fiercely refused.

The Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland became more violent in the 1960s, with Catholics fighting as part of the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** and Protestants with the **Ulster Defence Association**. Between 1969 and 1994, some 3,500 people died in the conflict. Some members of the IRA took their independence campaign to England by engaging in acts of terrorism, the use of violence to achieve political ends. These acts included setting off bombs in London and other cities. In 1994, the two sides reached a cease-fire. Later the IRA renounced violence and turned to politics to achieve its goals.

**Separatists in Spain** Another group that used terrorist tactics to advance a political agenda was the **Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA)** organization, founded in 1959, which wanted independence for the Basque region in northern Spain. ETA actions killed more than 800 people and injured many others. In 1973, members of ETA killed the hand-picked successor to longtime dictator Francisco Franco. (See Topic 7.4.) Over the years, ETA announced several cease-fires. In 2011 it declared an end to violent actions and promised to work within the political system to achieve Basque independence.

**Peru's Shining Path** During the 1970s, former philosophy professor **Abimael Guzmán** built a revolutionary organization called **Shining Path** based on the ideas of Mao Zedong and Cambodia's Khmer Rouge. In 1980, the Shining Path began decades of bombings and assassinations in Peru in order to overthrow the existing government and replace it with a communist one. Shining Path's 20 years of terrorism caused an estimated 37,000 deaths. Guzmán was arrested and sentenced to life in prison in 1992, though the Shining Path continued its attacks through the late 1990s. In 2011 one of the group's top leaders admitted defeat and began negotiations with the Peruvian government.



**Islamic Terrorism** Several small groups used a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam, one widely condemned by mainstream Muslims, to justify terrorism. Among these groups were the Boko Haram in West Africa, al-Shabaab in East Africa, the Islamic State of Iraq, the Levant (ISIL) in the Middle East, and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Most victims were Muslims. Some high-profile attacks occurred in European cities such as Madrid, London, and Paris.

One of the deadliest groups was al-Qaeda. Financed by Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda carried out attacks in many countries, including one in the United States on September 11, 2001. In this attack, terrorists killed themselves and more than 3,000 people when they hijacked and crashed planes in New York City, near Washington, D.C., and in rural Pennsylvania. Most of the world, even bitter foes of the United States such as Iran, rallied to support the United States. Focused efforts by the United States and its allies severely weakened al-Qaeda. Bin Laden was killed in a raid on his home in 2011.

**Terrorism in the United States** While the September 11 attack was the deadliest act of terrorism in the United States, it was not the only one. Acts of terrorism in the United States come from different sources and groups, including domestic groups, some of which are associated with white-nationalist or extreme right-wing views. One of the largest of these occurred when two anti-government extremists bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people. Other attacks targeted Muslims, Jews, and blacks.

## Response of Militarized States

States in which military dictators ran the government tended to respond to internal conflicts in ways that made the conflicts even worse. Spain under Franco and Uganda under Idi Amin are two prominent examples.

**The Franco Dictatorship in Spain** The dictator Francisco Franco ruled Spain from 1939 to 1975. (See Topic 7.4.) He had come to power by overthrowing a popularly elected government that included many leftists. Franco's fervent anti-communism made him an ally of the United States. It also led his government to execute, imprison, or send to labor camps hundreds of thousands of political dissenters. However, opposition to his authoritarianism remained. When Franco died, Spain took the opportunity to move toward democracy.

**Intensified Conflict in Uganda under Idi Amin** Few countries in the 1970s suffered as much as Uganda, a small country in eastern Africa ruled from 1971 to 1979 by Idi Amin, a military dictator so brutal he was known as the "Butcher of Uganda." Although he was aligned with Western democracies early on, he was later backed by the Soviet Union and East Germany. He declared himself president for life and set policies that worsened ethnic tensions, denied people basic human rights, and undermined economic stability. Amin was unpredictable. He was for a time the chairman of the



Organization of African Unity and even a member of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. But in 1972 he forcefully expelled 60,000 Asians from Uganda, most of whom were of Indian descent, and turned over their businesses to his supporters. He is believed to be responsible for up to 500,000 deaths among targeted ethnic groups during his reign. When he threatened neighboring Tanzania with attack, Ugandan nationalists joined forces with Tanzanian troops and forced Amin into exile.

## The Military-Industrial Complex

Conflicts around the world intensified because of fear and economic pressure. Countries that felt threatened, including the United States and the Soviet Union, built strong militaries to defend themselves. These military forces required large factories to build planes, tanks, and other goods. Since many countries lacked facilities to make their own weapons, the international weapons trade expanded greatly.

As the defense industries expanded, so did the number of people who relied on them for jobs. Cutting back on defense spending, then, became very difficult. In 1961, U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, a highly decorated general in World War II, called this combination of government defense departments and private businesses supplying their demands the military-industrial complex. He warned that it could grow powerful enough to threaten the country's democracy.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

#### **GOVERNMENT: Europe**

Wladyslaw Gomulka  
Imre Nagy  
Prague Spring  
Alexander Dubček  
Brezhnev Doctrine  
Irish Republican Army (IRA)

Ulster Defence Association  
Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA)

#### **GOVERNMENT: South America**

Abimael Guzmán  
Shining Path

#### **SOCIETY: Protests**

Martin Luther King Jr.  
Nelson Mandela  
Kent State University

# End of the Cold War

*Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!*

—Ronald Reagan, speech in West Berlin, Germany, June 12, 1987

**Essential Question:** What caused the end of the Cold War?

**P**ower structures continued to change in the 1980s and 1990s. President **Ronald Reagan's** appeal to Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachev** came two years before the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. Two years after the fall, a coup ousted Gorbachev from power. The Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War was over. The U.S.-Soviet Union rivalry that had dominated the world stage for nearly five decades ended. Governments in only a few countries, such as China, North Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam, still called themselves communists. Political alliances changed, and economic interactions among nations expanded.

## The Final Decades of the Cold War Era

Despite the persistent mistrust between the two countries, diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were maintained—albeit inconsistently at times—during the last decades of the conflict. Proxy wars and support of opposing sides in international conflicts remained standard for both nations. These conflicts reinforced the fundamental disagreement between the capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. Agreements between the superpowers to limit nuclear weapons played a key role in ending the Cold War. However, the path to a thaw was not always steady. (Connect: Describe the similarities in the competition between world powers in the Cold War and during the imperial era. See Topics 4.4 and 4.5.)

**Détente and a Colder War** After resolving the crises of the 1960s, which included the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis, the relationship between the superpowers improved in the following decade. This period of time was called **détente**, a relaxation of strained relations between nations.

One symbol of détente was the visit of President Richard Nixon to the Soviet Union in 1972. Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed the **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)**, designed to freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles that each power could keep. To play one power against the other, Nixon also visited China that year. It was the first visit by an American president in the existence of communist China.



Détente served both the U.S. and Soviet needs at the time. The Soviet Union faced challenges during the late 1960s and the 1970s.

- Economically, the USSR was in a crisis. It was no longer growing. Central governmental controls prevented farmers and manufacturers from deciding what to grow or make and what to charge for it. Foreign trade was extremely limited.
- Eastern European Soviet bloc countries were bucking for reforms and freedom from Moscow's direct control. The Soviet military violently put down the Prague Spring, a liberation movement in Czechoslovakia.
- Russia faced skirmishes with China along their shared border—a reflection of the troubled relationship between the two communist countries.

The United States also faced difficulties. President Nixon was mired in the Vietnam War, a costly and unpopular conflict. The American economy was suffering as well. The possibility of establishing relations with China would, Nixon knew, open potential new markets to the United States and at the same time press a bit on the strained Soviet-Chinese relationship. Détente could help the United States maintain its containment policy and might ease tensions between the superpowers.

As a result of détente, the United States started to sell excess stores of American grain to the Soviet Union, where drought had created a shortage. This benefitted American farmers, who now had access to a new, large market for goods, and the struggling people of the Soviet Union. However, after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, U.S. President Jimmy Carter halted the grain shipments. This action marked the end of détente.

**Soviet-Afghan War** The Soviets invaded Afghanistan to prop up that country's communist government against Muslim fighters. Estimates of Afghan civilian deaths vary from 562,000 to two million. Millions of Afghans fled to Pakistan and Iran, and many within the country became homeless. Ultimately, the Soviet army could not conquer the guerrilla groups in the rough terrain of Afghanistan. Soviet legitimacy was undermined and new forms of political participation in Afghanistan developed. As the Soviet Army withdrew in 1989, a civil war continued in Afghanistan. While the collapse of the Soviet Union would not occur until 12 years after the Afghan War began, the war put immense stress on the Soviet Union's centralized economic system and left Soviet leadership vulnerable to reform.

**Reagan and Gorbachev** During the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–1989), tensions between the Americans and the Soviets increased even further. Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” and sent military aid, including weapons, to support the Afghans. The Soviet Union resented this overtly militaristic move.

In addition, by the early 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union had more than 12,000 nuclear missiles, each one pointed at the other side. Not



only would the superpowers destroy each other with a nuclear exchange, but the rest of the world would also be destroyed—seven times over.

In light of this growing tension, Reagan declared that the United States would create a missile defense program he called the **Strategic Defense Initiative**, or **SDI**. Dubbed “Star Wars” (after the internationally popular 1977 film) by critics, the system would supposedly destroy any Soviet nuclear missiles that targeted the United States or its allies. Lacking such a system, the Soviets would be unable to keep U.S. missiles from hitting targets in the Soviet Union. The Soviets saw this move as the beginning of an arms race in space. While it was not an immediate threat that required a quick response, it worried liberal and moderate Soviets who wanted reforms. They saw it as a long-term economic concern and one that strengthened the hand of Soviet conservatives. The Soviets objected loudly to Reagan’s plan.

**The Thaw** The increase in tensions during the 1980s led to other nations believing that they must choose sides between the superpowers. Non-aligned nations hoped they would not experience a nuclear holocaust that the two nations caused.

In this tense atmosphere, Mikhail Gorbachev, a more progressive Communist than previous Soviet leaders, came to power in 1985. He favored **perestroika**, attempts to restructure the Soviet economy to allow elements of free enterprise, and **glasnost**, the policy of opening up Soviet society and the political process by granting greater freedom. Reagan and Gorbachev met three times in two years. The two men liked each other and, despite tough negotiations, created a working relationship that ultimately delivered results.

In 1987, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed on a new nuclear arms treaty. The **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)** restricted intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Around the world, people could breathe a cautious sigh of relief as the world’s two superpowers reduced the risk of nuclear war. The INF and other U.S.-Soviet agreements quieted some of the more bellicose Cold War supporters in both countries. With less pressure from Soviet conservatives, Gorbachev could more easily implement political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union.



**Source:** Edmund S. Valtman / Library of Congress

The man is Mikhail Gorbachev, who looks on sadly at a symbol of the Soviet Union, the hammer and sickle, broken into pieces.



## The End of the Soviet Union

One aspect of Gorbachev's reform program was an end to economic support for the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe. He also implied that the Soviet Army would no longer come to the rescue of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In effect, economic reform in the Soviet Union provided greater freedom to other communist countries. Once people in these countries got a small taste of freedom, they wanted more. As a result, democratic reform movements swept through Eastern European nations in 1989. The Berlin Wall was torn down. In October 1990, East and West Germany reunited as one country.

**The Spread of Reforms** With most of the Eastern European nations caught up in democratic reforms, it was not long before the Soviet Union was also swept into the movement. Lithuania, Georgia, and other Soviet republics began to overthrow their rulers and declare independence. The Warsaw Pact dissolved. Gorbachev's reforms ultimately led to his political downfall and the end of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Among the former Soviet republics that became independent countries, Russia emerged as the strongest. The Cold War had ended.

**New Challenges** The decline of a superpower presented opportunities and several challenges. Political alliances changed, and economic interactions among nations expanded. With this new openness, particularly with regard to trade, the world became more interconnected than ever before. This interconnectedness produced greater wealth for some but hardships for others. The post-Cold War world had to grapple with new democracies, vast economic inequality, ethnic conflict and genocide, terrorism, environmental degradation, and global epidemics.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

**GOVERNMENT:** Global  
Ronald Reagan  
Mikhail Gorbachev  
détente  
Strategic Arms Limitation  
Treaty (SALT)

perestroika  
glasnost  
Intermediate-Range Nuclear  
Forces Treaty (INF)

**TECHNOLOGY:** Military  
Strategic Defense Initiative  
(SDI)

# Causation in the Age of the Cold War and Decolonization

*Walls in the mind often stand longer than those built of concrete blocks.*

—Willy Brandt, December 1991

**Essential Question:** Why and to what extent were the effects of the Cold War similar in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres?

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new world order as the nations of Western Europe no longer dominated the world stage. The United States and the Soviet Union took over as the superpowers. In Western Europe, however, countries were free from domination by a superpower and retained their political independence and democratic governments. The Marshall Plan had helped them rebuild and achieve a level of economic prosperity that was unknown among the countries of Eastern Europe.

However, during this time, Western European colonial empires began to crumble as anti-imperialist sentiment fueled independence movements in Africa and Asia. Resentment of European and American economic imperialism also rose in Latin American countries, leading to revolutionary movements that aimed to overturn the political and social status quo in these countries. The United States and the Soviet Union regularly supported opposing sides in these clashes, projecting their own differences onto regional conflicts.

The Cold War also influenced economic, social, and cultural aspects of global events, providing further evidence that this conflict had far-reaching effects that affected the latter half of the 20th century.

## Challenges to Existing Social Orders

The years following World War II were a time of unprecedented conflict as people and states challenged the established order. How they carried out their challenges, how the existing powers responded, and how the challenges were (or were not) resolved depended in part on the position of the challenging people or states in the geopolitical balance of power.

Toward the end of World War II, a serious ideological and economic rift emerged among the “Big Three” Allied powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain. The United States and Great Britain, along with France (which had recently been liberated from German occupation),

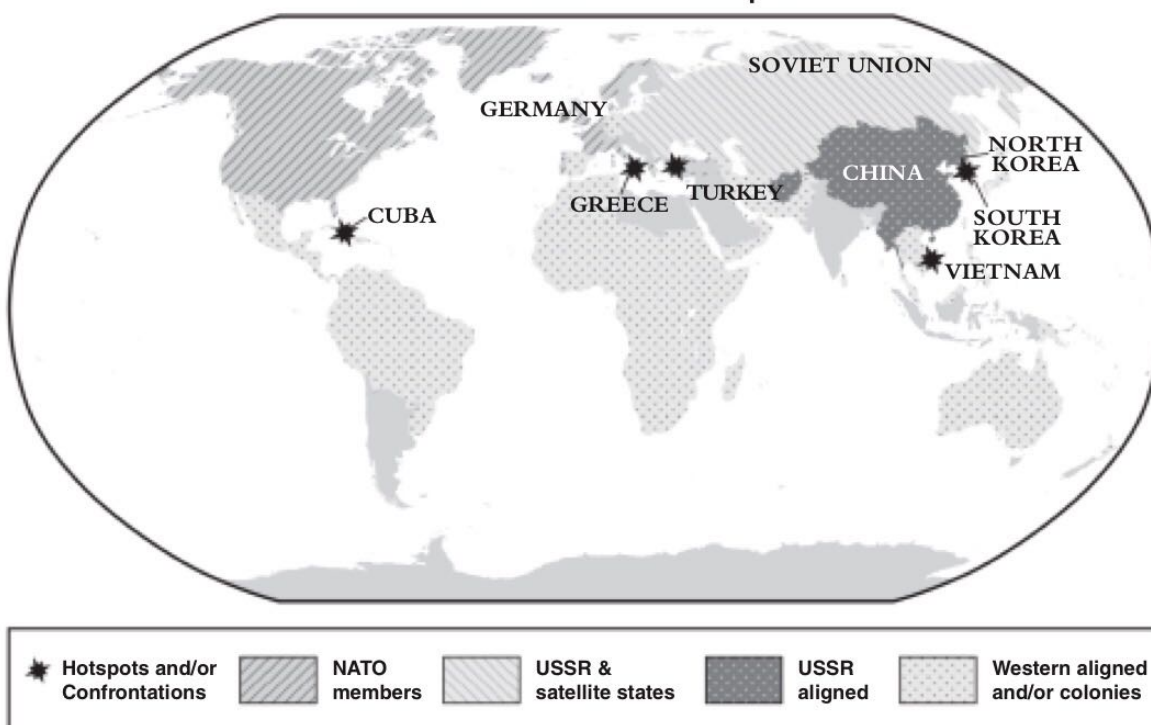


occupied the western half of Germany. The Soviets occupied the eastern half. Agreements made at Yalta and Potsdam were supposed to have settled the future status of Western and Eastern European countries affected by the war. However, after the war officially ended, it became apparent that the Soviet Union was not going to relinquish control over the Eastern European territories it occupied during the war. The Soviets viewed these states as a buffer against future aggression from the West. Even though the countries of Eastern Europe were officially independent, the Soviet Union had immense influence over their governments and internal affairs. The so-called Soviet bloc was made up of East Germany and these satellite nations of the USSR. The United States distrusted the motives of the Soviet Union and believed the Soviets were intent on bringing about a global communist revolution.

After China became a communist state in 1949 and the United States recognized it could not free Eastern Europe from Soviet influence, the United States established a policy of containment. The policy used military, economic, and political means to stop the spread of communism outside of the areas where it was currently practiced. Containment drove the direction of U.S. foreign policy throughout the Cold War.

**Three Alignments** The Cold War thus caused a division of the world into three alignments. The “First World” was the United States and its allies. The “Second World” was the Soviet Union, the Soviet bloc countries of Eastern Europe, and other communist nations around the world. The third alignment was often called the “Third World” but was more accurately described as the non-aligned countries that did not have close military or ideological ties with any of the First or Second World countries.

**Cold War Blocs and Hotspots**



As the map on the previous page shows, the United States was the First World superpower situated in the Western Hemisphere. The dominant superpower in the Second World, the Soviet Union, was in the Eastern Hemisphere. These superpowers represented a geopolitical balance of power. Third World countries were mainly those with colonial pasts; they were in Asia, Africa, and Oceania in the Eastern Hemisphere and Latin America in the Western Hemisphere.

## Superpower Rivalries

One result of the superpower rivalry was the division of Europe. The western portion had, for the most part, democratic and free-market societies, while the eastern portion was autocratic and communist. The dividing line ran through Germany, which was divided into the two independent countries of West and East Germany. The capital city of Berlin was similarly divided. The Iron Curtain, as it was termed, reflected the Western democratic view that the Soviet-bloc countries were a threat to the individual freedoms and liberty of the people living on both sides of the border. The Soviets believed, based on their historical perspective, that the Western democracies were intent on invading the Soviet Union. Mistrust on both sides led to a nuclear arms race that was an existential threat to Europe and the world.

**The Arms Race** The United States developed an atomic bomb at the end of World War II. It used the bomb to end the conflict with Japan by dropping two of them—one on the city of Hiroshima and the other on Nagasaki. The devastation to the two cities shocked the world. The Soviet Union soon developed its own nuclear weapon, and the nuclear arms race was on. The number of nuclear weapons and the means to use them increased for both states. Relations between the superpowers grew tense, and the fear in Europe, and elsewhere, was that any provocation could lead to nuclear annihilation. Both the United States and the Soviet Union took defensive actions that resulted in Europe becoming what was effectively an armed camp with millions of troops and weapons, both conventional and nuclear, facing off against each other.

During this time, two international military alliances formed. The United States and its allies formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Soviet Union and its allies created the Warsaw Pact. Both groups sought to ensure collective security through military cooperation. Part of the “cold” factor in the Cold War is that there never was direct, “hot” military conflict between the two superpowers. But the brinkmanship and proxy battles that characterized this war put most people on Earth on edge whenever the United States and the Soviets appeared poised to launch a nuclear attack.

## Hopes for Greater Self-Government

The high point of empires and colonization was World War I. The British, the French, and other Europeans had colonized almost all of Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, and they dominated China. The Turkish Ottoman Empire



controlled the Middle East. But the desire for self-government that had fueled colonial rebellions throughout the Americas in the 18th and 19th centuries as well as national independence movements in Europe in the 19th century spread throughout the world in the 20th century. The two world wars crystallized the opposition to the empires. Although most hopes for independence remained unfulfilled after World War I, the war did result in the breakup of two large multiethnic empires, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey.

World War II, however, accelerated the dismantling of global colonial empires. Between the end of World War II in 1945 and the year 2000, the number of independent states more than doubled, going from around 75 to around 190.

As the Cold War established new alignments among both newer and established states, it extended far beyond its ideological roots and exerted political, economic, social, and cultural influence on nearly all parts of the globe.

## Comparing Political Effects of the Cold War

The Cold War affected the Eastern and Western Hemispheres in similar ways, since each was dominated by a superpower and also had former colonies and emerging new nations. However, most countries in the Western Hemisphere had become independent long before the Cold War. The Eastern Hemisphere paid an especially heavy price as a result of the Cold War, since several key proxy conflicts were located in Asia and Africa. Nonetheless, rivalries between the superpowers played out in both hemispheres.

Many transitions to independence were largely peaceful and nonviolent; others involved open armed rebellions. In some cases, these insurgent movements were led by communist groups and supported by the Soviet Union, such as in Vietnam and Angola. As a result, the United States would either support the colonial power against the communist insurgency or would support opposition groups that would establish a non-communist government. Often these Western-backed governments proved to be unpopular with the majority of the people, which only heightened anti-imperialist feelings.

**Political Effects in Asia** The Cold War brought armed conflict and played a part in internal revolts and crises in some countries of Asia. The U.S. policy of containment led to wars in Korea and Vietnam. Communist revolutions overtook Cambodia and Laos. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan to prop up the communist government in that country. Anti-communist crackdowns occurred in Indonesia and the Philippines. Communist China had a falling-out with the Soviet Union and began to seek better relations with the United States.

**Political Effects in Africa** As with Asia, the Cold War brought conflict and turmoil to Africa. Communist insurrections supported by the Soviet Union were often met by government resistance supported with arms supplied by the United States. Communist governments came to power in Ethiopia and Angola. In the case of Angola's war for independence from Portugal, the Soviet Union and the United States fought a proxy war. The Soviets supported the use

of Cuban soldiers and provided arms and military training to help establish a communist-style government in the country. The United States provided arms and supported anti-communist groups.

**Political Effects in the Western Hemisphere** Latin America also experienced the results of the Cold War conflict between the superpowers. Communist revolutions were successful in Cuba and Nicaragua. Communist insurrections, sometimes backed by the Soviet Union or Cuba, occurred in El Salvador, Columbia, Peru, and Guatemala. The United States would support the government in power—often a dictatorship made up of military officers or right-wing politicians—to try to stop the spread of communism.

## Comparing Economic Effects of the Cold War

The Cold War divided Europe in economics as well as politics. The Western countries, aided by the United States' Marshall Plan, rebuilt their economies after the destruction of World War II with a mixture of free-market principles and state-sponsored economic development. The Eastern bloc nations struggled in a transition away from communism to free-market economies. Developing countries—those in the “Third World”—faced unique challenges.

**State Response to Economic Challenges in the West** To promote economic security, many Western European governments created public health systems, built public housing, provided unemployment insurance, and developed state-backed pension plans. The creation of the welfare state, as it became known, was to counteract the attraction of the communist system that promised to provide many of these benefits. As a result, the Western European nations' economies boomed while the Eastern European economies, under a communist system, struggled to recover from the costs and effects of the war.

Health Care Insurance Coverage by Country			
Country	Percentage Covered by a Government Program	Percentage Covered by Private Insurance	Total Percentage of Population Covered
Denmark	100	0	100
Greece	100	0	100
Australia	100	0	100
South Africa	84	16	100
Germany	89	11	100
United Kingdom	100	0	100
United States	36	55	91
India	22	5	27

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Data for 2016



**State Response to Economic Challenges in the Eastern Bloc** The Soviet government quickly transitioned its economy after the war to peacetime endeavors. Yet the military-industrial complex was so large in the Soviet Union that it employed about 20 percent of the workers, many of whom became unemployed during the transition. The Soviet-bloc countries faced a serious economic crisis as the government instituted economic reforms to encourage free-market practices and move away from a state-controlled economy.

However, moving from a state-controlled to a free-market economy proved to be an extremely complex endeavor. Debates swirled about whether to institute reforms gradually or all at once, and party officials resisted the loss of their control over the economy. In the end, reformers have succeeded in removing state controls over prices, and formerly state-owned businesses have been privatized. After a period of decline, the Russian economy is improving.

China made a more gradual transition to a free-market economy and has become a global economic powerhouse.

**State Response to Economic Challenges in Developing Countries** Many former colonies still had close economic ties to the countries that had colonized them and remained dependent on the extraction and exporting of natural resources. The perspective of many people in the former colonies was that the industrial countries were using this relationship to exploit and undermine the economies of these developing countries. Getting control of their resources was a top priority of developing nations. Oil-rich Angola, for example, left in disarray after years of civil war, has a government-controlled oil conglomerate that accounts for about 70 percent of government revenue and has helped the nation rebuild and update infrastructure.

## Comparing Social and Cultural Effects

The tension and turmoil of the Cold War era created social effects for all sides involved. For example, the proxy wars cost millions of people their lives, especially in Southeast Asia. In the Vietnam war alone, two million soldiers and two million civilians died over 20 years of conflict. Bombs destroyed villages, and chemical defoliants killed anything growing on farmlands. Families were separated and displaced. Many rural villagers left for the city, where they thought they could find safety. Saigon, the capital city, tripled in size as refugees from the countryside flooded in. Most of the fighting took place in South Vietnam, so it sustained the most damage, but North Vietnam was also bombed—especially such infrastructure as railroads and highways.

**Social Tensions** The Cold War created suspicions as well. Americans were afraid of communist infiltration, and some people's careers were ruined when they were unjustly accused of being communists. In the Soviet Union, people were afraid to express their beliefs openly if they disagreed with the government. They knew they could be sent away to a political prison camp. People everywhere lived under the threat of a nuclear attack. Some people built bomb shelters where they hoped they could safely weather an atomic attack.



**Cultural Effects** With greater personal freedom, and with help from the United States, Western Europeans experienced a cultural rebirth after World War II. Scientific research, music, art, and architecture flourished. Eastern Europe, in contrast, lacked freedom of expression. Because of the Cold War, governments actively blocked the spread of Western culture. The people of Eastern Europe did not see much in the way of cultural achievements beyond those that were government-sponsored or approved.

During the Cold War, many people from former colonies moved to the metropole (see Topic 8.6), furthering the blending of cultures. At the same time, the imperial powers left a legacy of culture in their former colonies, including the languages spoken, as the chart below shows.

European-Based Languages Spoken Widely in Sub-Saharan Africa		
Language	Number of Native Speakers	Countries Where the Language is Common
French	120 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Senegal</li> <li>• Democratic Republic of the Congo</li> </ul>
Portuguese	14 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Angola</li> <li>• Mozambique</li> </ul>
Dutch (Afrikaans)	7 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Africa</li> </ul>
English	7 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Africa</li> </ul>
Spanish	1 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equatorial Guinea</li> </ul>

In places where a Cold War superpower had maintained order, such as Afghanistan and Yugoslavia, violent culture clashes occurred when the superpower retreated. In Yugoslavia, for example, which had been stitched together and annexed to Serbia after World War I, ethnic tensions flared as Serbia's ultra-nationalist president, Slobodan Milosevic, pitted one group against another to strengthen his own position after the fall of the Soviet Union left a power vacuum. Wars in the region took tens of thousands of lives and created hundreds of thousands of refugees. (Connect: Analyze the changing goals for both superpowers during the Cold War. See Topics 8.1, 8.3, and 8.8.)

## Development of Global Institutions

The end of the Cold War and the growth of globalization has reset the geopolitical framework. The idea of a balance of power has yielded to a more cooperative approach as countries recognize global interdependence. To further cooperation, global organizations such as the United Nations and the World Trade Association have been established. Others address such transnational issues as environmental degradation and global warming, human rights, and epidemic diseases.